

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

513] LONDON, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1819. [514

TO THE FEMALE REFORMERS
OF THE KINGDOM.

Bolton, December 25th, 1819.

Proceeding in the same manner that I proceeded in, with regard to the addresses presented to me by the Male Reformers, I shall now insert the addresses sent me from the Female Reformers of Bolton-le-Moors, of Manchester, and of Ashton-under-Lyne; and, I wish to be looked upon, in the answer which I shall give to those addresses, as speaking to every woman in the country who has the virtue to feel ardently, and to act zealously in the cause of Reform, which cause is really the cause of peace, loyalty, morality, and of all religion which is not matter of mere sham. The excellent Females of the above-mentioned places, have possessed advantages, not possessed by those of other parts of the kingdom; and they have availed themselves of those advantages to give utterance to their thoughts. I know well that ninety-nine hundredths of the Females of this kingdom feel as they feel; and it is to me the best possible pledge of final success to our endeavours, that the spirit of patriotism animates the female bosom, which never knows any thing of shuffling, of equivocating, of balancing between right and wrong; of halting at half way; but when once convinced that the object ought to be obtained, urges on, through all obstacles, directly to its attainment. With these sentiments with regard to all the Female Reformers in the kingdom, I now proceed to insert the addresses, and to do myself the very great honour of endeavouring to give to them a suitable answer.

WM. COBBETT.

FROM THE FEMALE REFORMERS OF
BOLTON-LE-MOORS.

DEAR AND MUCH RESPECTED SIR,

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, being your Country-women, residing in the town of Bolton-le-

Moors, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, feel an indescribable pleasure in addressing you on your return to your native country, at a crisis like the present.

We cannot help recollecting, that, once we could have welcomed you, by spreading before you a board of English hospitality, furnished by our industry. Once, we could have greeted you, with the roseate countenances of English females. Once, we could have delighted you, with the appearance of our decent, and well-educated offspring: whilst we could have presented to your view, our Cottages, vieing for cleanliness and arrangement with the Palace of our King. But, alas! all those joys are now fled, and misery and dire distress, the consequences of * * * and * * *, have succeeded the joys once experienced under the sway of a Government which respected the rights, and was emulous of securing the prosperity of the people.

A false currency instead of a real money, has paralyzed the efforts of our countrymen to render us happy and capable of enjoying the noble sentiments which are invariably the consequences of a perfect and proper representation of the people.

With what peculiar pleasure have we listened, whilst our sires, our husbands, our brothers, and our sons, have read unto us the many invaluable essays you have sent us from the opposite shores of the Atlantic! The statements which you have laid before us we have treasured up in our minds; we have long wished for the time to arrive, when you would return unto us; and we now hail you as the propitious emissary of peace. At a time, when our * * have tried the last experiment, the * *; at a time, when the blood of Britons (shed in the exercise of Constitutional rights) crieth aloud from the ground for justice, but

*****: at such a time, Sir, we anticipate from your arrival, something favourable to the cause of our suffering country; and, you may rest assured, Sir, that, until we attain the object of your labours, a radical Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, we will never cease to avail ourselves of every opportunity and of every means, placed within our reach, to obtain so desirable an object.

FROM THE FEMALE REFORMERS
OF MANCHESTER.

TO WM. COBBETT, Esq.

SIR,—The Female Reformers of Manchester, actuated by a lively sense of the manifold services which you have rendered to mankind, and to the sacred cause of freedom, by the gigantic powers of a mind, unsubdued by inveterate and undeserved persecution, beg leave to hail your return to your native land with exultation and joy. They behold in this return a pledge of your undiminished devotion to those principles for which you became self-expatriated, leaving behind you, however, a spark of that celestial liberty which your presence alone, will now fan into a pure and lambent flame, harmless to all but the oppressors and plunderers of the people.

Accept of our grateful homage to your splendid talents and love of virtue, exerted with a vigour neither appalled nor seduced by corruption. Persevere, beloved Sir, with undiminished ardour in the great design of effecting a reform in every branch of a government, *****

We presume at the same time to beg your acceptance of a small tribute to your transcendent worth; it is a present somewhat assimilated to your pursuits in life; when you hereafter look upon the writing apparatus thus offered to you, you will not fail to recollect that the Female Reformers throughout the Kingdom are, notwithstanding their sex, equally interested in your past and future labours.

It cannot be unknown to you, Sir, that our intentions have been vilified, and our characters traduced by the

unprincipled scribes, of a venal and corrupt press. To you, in your excellent letter to the Female Reformers of Blackburn, we are indebted for a complete vindication of our motives, our conduct and our characters; you have refuted the calumnies of our enemies and proved our innocence and integrity. The days of chivalry are passed; but in you the Female Reformers feel they shall never want a sufficient advocate, and are thankful for the aid you have afforded.

May these trifling tokens of our regard, wielded and directed by your matchless and expanded mind, accelerate the glorious day which we perceive fast approaching our political horizon; may they prove more powerful than the sabres of the cowardly enemy, which we the Female Reformers of Manchester most of us narrowly escaped, and drive corruption to her pristine darkness: then shall the voice of war be heard no more, and our children reap the full fruit of their parents' labour.

With the most sincere and affectionate wishes for the health, happiness and prosperity of yourself and family, we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, for the Female Reformers of Manchester,

Your very obedient

and devoted servants,

M. FILES, Chairwoman,

S. SAXTON, Secretary.

Manchester, Nov. 29, 1819.

N.B. The Address from Ashton-under-Lyne is in the same words as the general address from the County of Lancaster, and was inserted in a former Number of the Register.

TO
THE FEMALE REFORMERS
OF MANCHESTER, OF BOLTON-LE-
MOORS, AND OF ASHTON-UNDER-
LYNE.

Botley, December 25, 1819.

BELOVED AND ADMIRER COUNTRY-
WOMEN,

These marks of your approbation and affection are received by me with far greater pride than I should receive all the stars and all the titles which it

is in the power of all the Kings, Emperors and other Potentates in the world, to bestow. Between you and me, there has been no communication, other than that of the mind. It is beyond the scope of possibility that your respect for me can have been produced by any unfair, any undue, any delusive means. From me, it is impossible that you ever can receive any pecuniary or any private gratification of any sort. You have never seen me; you have never been applied to by any person in my behalf. Our minds only have become intimately acquainted; our feelings have been congenial: I have written, and you have read; and this is the only bond of our union; than which, nothing can reflect greater honour on both parties; an honour which, on my part leaves me nothing in this world to desire the possession of, save and except the power of doing you, your offspring and your relations more good than I am at present enabled to do you.

I will not, like the base slaves, whom we daily behold and daily despise, send back an echo to your addresses. I will avail myself of this occasion to address you upon topics of importance to us all; for the times are full of peril as well as of interest; and every effort is making to prevent a continuance of that intercourse which has taken place between us.

The thousands of calumnies which have been spread abroad with regard to me, during my absence; the thousands which are now afloat; all these receive a complete answer in your addresses. When I used to read these calumnies in America, they never gave me any uneasiness. I was told by some persons there, that BURDETT's endeavours to destroy my character had produced a great deal of effect. Several other instances were mentioned to me. But I scoffed at the suggestion: I trusted to the good sense, the justice and the generosity of the people of England, who, being no longer subject to delusion, I was sure would decide as virtue and

honour should dictate. My answer used to be: "*stop 'till I return, and then you will see how the People of England will decide.*" They have decided: the men have spoken for themselves, and you, my admired Countrywomen, have spoken for yourselves.

In expressing your approbation of my conduct, you have given a stamp to your own characters for sound judgment and great extent of understanding. You are called, by the implacable enemies of our freedom and our happiness, "*a deluded people;*" "*poor deluded creatures;*" "*poor misled mortals!*" Have I written in a strain to delude people? Has it been delusion that I have spread abroad; was I deluding you, when laying before you the inevitable effects of taxation and of paper-money; was I deluding you when I told you, years ago, that there must be a reduction of the interest of the debt; war taxes in time of peace, or loans in time of peace; was I deluding you, when, at the time when the nation was drunk with joy at the overthrow of Napoleon, I told you that the day of suffering and of mourning was to come; was I deluding you, when I told you that, to attempt to pay in specie, without a reduction of the interest of the debt, would reduce this nation to a state of suffering such as had never before been heard of in the world? These are the things which I have taught: these are the matters upon which you have received information from me: and let our enemies now say, if they can, that I have been a teacher of delusion.

Look, my admired Countrywomen, at the projects which are now on foot. Look at the schemes for what is called *relieving* the nation. It is now proposed to take from all persons, a sixth part; that is to say, one part out of six of the whole of their property, in order to reduce the debt! That is to say, to take from every man who has six farms of equal size, one farm! And if a man have a house worth six hundred pounds, to make

him pay one hundred, though he may be compelled to sell the house, in order to get the hundred. This scheme is decidedly approved of in the Ministerial Newspapers. Judge, then, of the state to which things are brought! Judge, then, whether you were deluded by me, when I so frequently told you that, if the system of funding were persevered in, without a reduction of the interest of the debt, the land-holders must lose their estates. Who were the deluded persons, those who believed me; or those who abused me? I will say, at present, nothing of this scheme: let the schemers proceed: I am very sure that they can adopt no scheme; that they can resort to no contrivance the adoption of which will not speedily prove that to my doctrine they must come at last.

It is greatly to your honour; it is an everlasting compliment to your understandings; it will be said in your praise, for ages and ages to come, that you have so deeply imbibed, and been so grateful for, the lessons inculcated by me. My writings have been wholly divested of every thing calculated to catch female curiosity or to flatter frivolity and sensuality. I have been a teacher of rigid economy, of abstinence, of self-denial of every sort; I have put forth nothing calculated to amuse the idle or the vain. My essays have been upon dry politics; I have dealt not in declamation, in deception, in narrative; nothing to gratify the appetite for scandal; nothing to entice the mind over to my side. I have dealt wholly in discussion and that discussion has been on subjects the most unentertaining to a frivolous mind; subjects of a nature so intricate as to render them disgusting to any mind incapable of serious and even profound thinking. I have encountered, upon various occasions, the deep rooted prejudices of my readers: I have not feared to combat their errors: I have relied upon their justice and good sense: and upon nothing else. And yet there are men, or, at least, those who call themselves men, who have the audacity; the pro-

fligate audacity to call me a deluder of the People!

These persons, who call me a deluder and you the deluded, pretend, nevertheless, that this is very despicable trash by which you have been deluded. Such men overshoot themselves. They forget while they are calling it *trash*, that trash is a thing which is easily put down by being answered and exposed. If I tell you that the moon is made of green cheese, there needs no answer: you call me an impudent fool and there is an end of that. If I were to tell you that the Army cost thirty millions a year; the falsehood could be proved in a minute from the accounts laid before Parliament; and then the trash would be destroyed. But, if I tell you that you owe your miseries to the weight of taxation; and if I maintain my proposition by arguments which convince you of its truth; the conviction will remain, to be sure, until it be removed by a better argument. It is useless, therefore, to abuse me; it is useless to say that I am this or that; I am that; and that my writings are trash; and, indeed, it is worse than useless, for, instead of removing your conviction; instead of making you believe that I have misled you, it strengthens your conviction, it confirms you in your belief. And when you see laws passing, the obvious tendency of which is to prevent you from reading what I write, you, of course, feel a stronger attachment to me, at the same time that you feel resentment against my calumniators.

As to merit, as an author or writer, I have always despised what is generally called criticism. I know that those who carry on the trade of critics are a base and hireling set of beings in the world. The critics that I look to are the public and my mode of estimating a writer is by the effect which it produces. There be two writings, having the accomplishment of the same object in view, that writing which soonest most completely accomplishes its

ject, is the *best* of the two. I listen to nothing about *style* as it is called; or any thing else. As the man, who soonest and best weaves a yard of cloth, is the best weaver; so the man, who soonest and best accomplishes an object with his pen, is the best writer. Taking this as my standard, I know very well, that I am a very good one: but it does, nevertheless, give me singular pleasure to hear you say that you have been taught by me. Perhaps there is no pleasure so great as that which we derive from a conviction that we have produced great effect upon the minds of great multitudes of persons; and especially when we are able to reflect that, as in the present case, the effect has been produced by calm and dispassionate reasoning upon serious and important subjects. Who, besides myself, has, in our day, attempted to gain popularity by dint of wit and of argument, unmixed with any thing to amuse the human mind! If, at any time, I have indulged in a sort of jest I have been almost ashamed of the momentary triumph thereby acquired. I have rested my reputation upon the success of truth supported by dry argument. I knew well that the seeds must lie long in the ground; that the vegetation of the plants must be slow; but I knew also that the growth of them would be sure and that their nature would be durable. *"Cast your bread upon the waters,"* has always been at my tongue's end, when, many years ago, I perceived a inclination in the People to hear, and when almost any other man would have thrown down the pen in despair. I knew, however, that I was gradually making converts, though I very seldom saw any outward proof of the fact. I was grieved also for the misery which I knew would be the final consequence, which I also knew would open the wounds of the nation. When that misery came, I redoubled my efforts; and the result has been that universal conviction of the utility of my efforts, and in regard to which conviction you speak only the voice of the nation at large.

There is no part of your conduct that has given me more satisfaction than that which relates to the education of your children. I hear that you are using your endeavours to keep them out of the hands of those who would corrupt their infant minds; and, that, you have adopted plans for teaching them to imbibe the principles which you have imbibed. This, of all admirable things, is the most admirable. I will endeavour, when I have ascertained what is the best mode of doing it, to compose some little books, which, at the same time that they shall assist in the teaching of children to read, shall also be calculated to instruct them in the knowledge of valuable political facts, and lead them, at a very early age, to contract an implacable hatred of drunkenness, gaming, bribery, corruption and speculation. There have been expressed, of late, by certain persons, in a place that I need not name, an opinion that the teaching of children to read at all has had a mischievous tendency! oh! Aye! what a pity it is that they should have been able to read about sinecures, places and pensions! One of these persons has said, that, as long as the children are at *schools*, it is all very well! But, then, (naughty boys and girls, as they are) they will read any thing that they can get at, after they can get away from the schools! Nothing can be truer than this; but, I see no reason why they should not be taught good matter in the schools themselves; and your endeavouring to establish such schools are so manifestly meritorious that it must be a miscreant, indeed, who would censure them; and yet such miscreants do really exist.

You are pleased to commend what you are kind enough to call my defence of you. You needed no defender. But is it not enough to fill me with indignation, to hear you represented as masculine termagants, because you step forward to urge on your husbands, sons and brothers in the cause of Reform, and present them with banners symbolical of freedom,

when there is scarcely a wife or a daughter of a Lord Lieutenant who has not, first or last, come out in public, and with a speech from her own lips, presented to men, calling themselves soldiers, either banners or swords or both! This is so insolent on the part of your traducers that if one heard the words from their own lips, instead of seeing them in print, in their infamous journals, one could hardly forbear smiting them on the mouth! What! have not you as much right to present flags as the wives and daughters of Lords Lieutenant? The banners that you present are those of civil life: those which they present, are banners of war and bloodshed; or, at any rate, if the swords be used at all; if they be not swords of mere empty show, they must be intended, if the occasion require, to be employed in the slaying of human beings. And yet those who present these banners and swords are to be regarded as accomplished and gentle ladies; while you are to be spoken of as bloodthirsty and black-guard hags! Never did it occur to those gentle and accomplished dames to present a man with a writing stand and a pen, as it has occurred to the Female Reformers of Manchester to present to me. Those accomplished and gentle dames are, in fact, compared with you, ignorant and vulgar persons; or, at least, we have no evidences of the contrary in any part of their public conduct: they deal in warlike banners and in swords: you, in emblems of the social compact and in implements which convey ideas from mind to mind. Who has shown themselves to be most accomplished; to be most gentle! Let the facts be stated; and let the nation and posterity be the judges.

This writing stand, and this pen, which I am using at this moment, had they been made of the coarsest wood, instead of silver, would have been as valuable, in my eyes, as they now are. I receive them as a mark of your approbation; as a proof that my writings have produced a lasting effect

upon your minds; and as a certain assurance that the sentiments of those minds will be communicated to those of your children. Who will believe that any efforts that our enemies can make will ever be able to root out sentiments thus firmly implanted? Who will believe that the spirit of Reform is to be subdued? Who will believe, with these proofs, of fixed principles in their minds, that the people of England are to be either terrified or wheedled into an abandonment of their rights. Let those believe it who are afraid to look at the truth; but let it be believed by no one who has even the faintest good wish towards that cause which contemplates the destruction of every thing that is vile, and the promotion of every thing that is elevated and virtuous.

It is in times like the present that we are called upon individually, as well as collectively, to neglect nothing that may contribute towards the good of our country. I will, therefore, take this occasion to address you shortly upon a subject of very great importance; namely, that of promoting sobriety, frugality and an abstinence from gaming. Great, indeed, is your power in this important department of life. But your example will be of greater consequence than even you yourselves can imagine.

As it will become my duty to present the public with a regular plan, with regard to every part of this subject, I will content myself here with only noticing what I myself have done in the way of providing substitutes for those expensive, and, in my opinion, unwholesome, articles, *tea and coffee*. The use of sage, rosemary and many other herbs, instead of tea, I have mentioned before; but since I have come to Botley, I have put in practice that which I am very certain will never be departed from in my house. The habit of our lives has rendered it very difficult to discontinue the use of something warm, in the morning and in the evening. It is very easy to be proved that there is nothing substantial in the tea; and, indeed, that that less

is really unwholesome; that it is injurious both to the stomach and the nerves. Very nearly the same may be said of coffee, and it is notorious that if either of them be chewed in a raw state, they are perfectly offensive to the taste. I have substituted, in their stead, for both morning and evening, **ROASTED WHEAT**. And I positively assert, that it would be impossible for me to distinguish the beverage made from the wheat, from that made with coffee, except that the former has a rather milder and pleasanter taste than the latter. Same colour when ground; same smell, as nearly as possible; and I verily believe that if sold ground, in a shop, not one person out of ten thousand, could be able to distinguish the one from the other, unless he had both before him at the same moment. The fact is that the coffee is a bean; a split bean, and that, too, of a very coarse and unnutritive quality; while the wheat is, as we well know, a most nutritious grain.

This is a matter of so much importance to Females, that I hope you will excuse me if I enter into some detail as to the method of preparing this article; which, as you will presently see, may be prepared, in every family in England, Scotland and Ireland without the smallest inconvenience. A common iron pot is what we make use of for the roasting of the wheat. The pot, first being made very clean, is to be put over a *slow* fire. When it gets pretty well heated, put in the wheat, not being more than a sixth part of the pot full. From the moment the wheat is put in, keep *stirring constantly and quickly*, until it become as dark coloured as roasted coffee. Then take it out, put it by, grind it and use it in the same manner as coffee. As to *clearing* the wheat coffee; the means are precisely the same as those used for clearing the foreign coffee. Some persons put something in to the boiling coffee, in order to clear it. But the best way is this: make a flannel bag which, when full, is in the shape of a sugar

loaf turned upside-down. Let this bag, at the open end be sewed round a bit of wire, in a circular form. Put the bag, hanging down, into the coffee pot or mug, and the wire rim will keep it suspended. Put the coffee into the bag. Then pour *boiling water* upon the coffee, until you have as much as you want to drink. The flannel bag will keep back all the coffee grounds, and you will have the coffee fine and clear. You may set it over the fire again to keep it hot.

The wheat, at the present price, seven shillings and sixpence a bushel, costs *one penny half-penny a pound*. It loses a fourth part of its weight in roasting, which brings it to *two-pence a pound*, while the most nauseous and villainous Coffee that can be bought in retail, costs about *three shillings a pound*. The whole of the tax raised last year upon tea and coffee, amounted to *four millions, two hundred and eighty seven thousand, two hundred and thirty nine pounds, sterling money!* This you will please to observe was the amount of the tax alone, exclusive of the cost of the noxious articles. Let me hope, therefore, that this suggestion will be speedily put into practice amongst all those who love either their families or their country. Frugality is always a virtue; and more especially in a case like the present. No woman, who will not take the pains, if pains it can be called, to provide her family with this beverage, shall ever persuade me that her attachment to good principles exists any where but upon her lips.

I gave some of this coffee to a neighbour of mine, who had drank coffee for years, and he drank it as coffee, having no notion of its being other than the coffee he usually drank, except, as he afterwards said, he thought it *rather milder*; and, upon our telling him that it was Turkey coffee, and not plantation coffee, he took that to be the cause of the difference. I am speaking to a whole people, every family of whom have it in their power to try the ex-

periment; and, therefore, I need, I trust, say no more upon the point of fact.

But I am very anxious to impress upon you the necessity of *example*, in this case; example is always more powerful than precept, and particularly in a case where the example is to produce acquiescence in something which the party giving the example, wishes to take place. It must be very desirable for you to withdraw husbands, sons, brothers, and other male relations from the beer houses and the gin-shops; you must be very anxious to see the nauseous pipe and quid banished from their mouths. But, to induce them to refrain from these worse than useless indulgences, the most effectual way, is to set them an example in your own department. If you will not abstain from the at once expensive and noxious tea and coffee, and especially when a substitute, as pleasant in taste and not only free from unwholesomeness, but even greatly nutritious; if you will not abstain from the use of tea and coffee, when such a substitute is offered you in its stead, the produce of our own soil, to be had in every town, every village, at every mill and every farm house; if you will not abstain from the use of tea and coffee, under such circumstances, with what reason can you complain of your husbands, fathers, sons and brothers for indulging in the use of tobacco, wine, spirits and beer?

I will not insult you by supposing, or seeming to suppose, that any further argument is necessary upon this subject. For my own part, I have found not the smallest difficulty; not an opposing word, nor even a look of reluctance at the putting of this regulation in practice in my own family; and we no more expect to see tea or coffee used in this house, again, than we expect to receive a vote of thanks from the Parliament, on the motion of Lord CASTLEREAGH. But, I do not, in the way of example, stop here: I not only exclude from my house, all the articles before mentioned; but I

am resolved, *not to eat or drink* (except upon a journey, and at a distance from home), *in any house where the use of any of these articles is tolerated.* I may be compelled to go to houses in which these articles are used; I may have motives sufficient to induce me to visit persons using these articles; but I will not eat or drink in any house, unless it be explicitly declared to me, by the owner of the house, that he does not permit the use of these articles. I may experience very great inconvenience in consequence of adhering to this resolution; but, if I will submit to no inconveniences for the sake of giving an example that may possibly be of great public benefit; if this be my disposition; if I will make no sacrifices; if I will exercise no self-denial; I am unworthy of the confidence which you repose in me.

I am aware that it will frequently, at first, be painful to set toast and water before one's friends; and I am also aware that it may diminish their number. But the sooner the number of such friends is diminished the better. The friendship that has the smallest part of its foundation or rather any foundation at all, in the love of food or of drink is wholly unworthy of the name. Better far to be without such friendship, under any circumstances, and, under the present circumstances, it is both a burthen and a disgrace.

The present Register will be the last that can appear under the present form and at the present price. You will have seen by the last Register, that it is my intention to take upon me the toil of a daily newspaper, in order to be under that *protection* which CASTLEREAGH says the new stamp laws are intended to give to "*the respectable part of the press*;" though, you will observe, that the "*gentlemen*" who carry on this respectable part, though, not made liable to *transportation*, are to be liable to *banishment*; which latter is regarded as a great mitigation of that just severity which was at first intended. You will perceive that after the

new stamp law has passed, *no publication of less than two sheets and a half, and no publication, sold for less than sixpence, is to go forth without a stamp.* There are, probably, some exceptions as to *monthly* publications and as to the pretty things that are called moral and religious tracts. These latter, however, will receive, if the law be *impartially enforced*, a heavy blow; for they are now, as you well know, compositions containing little else than nasty, dirty, time-serving, slavish politics: the pretended morality of them is, generally, lies, calculated to deceive the ignorant; and the religion of them is almost uniformly, a species of wild fanaticism; a familiar and impudent talk about the Deity, which merits the name of blasphemy much more than any thing which has, of late, been stigmatized as such.

The stamp will destroy great numbers of small publications; especially when we consider that the proprietors of those publications are to find, beforehand, security for their good behaviour. I have not yet positively fixed on the mode that I shall *finally* pursue with regard to the publication of the Register. I shall publish this present number on Tuesday or Wednesday, lest the Bill should pass, and become a law, *before Saturday*. We must count hours and minutes now! I always told you it would be thus! By Saturday, *the sixth of January*, I shall, I hope, be able to make arrangements so as to have a Register out on that day. But, if that should not be the case, the publication, in some shape or other, shall be resumed in the course of the week after. You can see, very clearly, the point at which all these laws are aiming! You can see, clearly, the *great object* which they have in view! But, while the makers of those laws have been so industrious, and looking so sharply about them, I need not tell you that I have been neither blind nor idle. Canning is reported to have said, in a Debate of the 22d of December, that "in society there was an aggregation

"of men, which made it impossible to "strike the precise individual whom, "they wished to strike, without scattering and alarming the herd among "whom he had taken shelter;" He might have added, that it was within the compass of possibility to scatter and alarm the herd *without striking that precise individual whom they wished to strike*; which I verily believe will happen in the present case. I think I can guess at the individual which Canning had in his eye; and, if I am right in my guess, I can assure his Excellency that that individual will not be hit by any of the blows that appear to be intended for him. You will have laughed with me at the blubbering booksellers and their Petition! These fellows approve, they say, of measures to put a stop to what they call *sedition* and *blasphemy*. They applaud these measures; but they wish to be excluded from all participation in the blessings of them. They do not wish for a trip to Botany Bay! Oh! disloyal fellows! Not run the risk of Botany Bay themselves, for the sake of loyalty and religion! Unreasonable dogs! What, then, they think something of their own worthless carcasses, do they! They do not like even to be *banished*, themselves; though they appear not to care a straw whether others be banished or hanged. These pious venders of the direct, the intended, the studied, the methodical blasphemy of HUME and GIBBON; these men, who deal in *stock books of blasphemy*: these loyal and pious reprobaters of the two-penny trash, would, I suppose, have had an exception in the law in their favour; but this is not so easy a matter; it was not so very easy to make laws to hit one part of the press and let the other part escape: and thus the general blow was obliged to be given, or no blow at all; and the pious Mr. BUTTERWORTH must now remain, as well as the rest of us, subject to the law of banishment; and, if I find Hume or Gibbon, or any other of the tribe of blasphemers, for sale at his shop, or at any other of their shops, if I do

not indict them, I will consent to be put upon a level with themselves. I will try what the law is made of; there shall be no privileged blasphemers, at any rate.

You will perceive that, if I publish the Register, in future, without a stamp, the price must be sixpence, at least, and the bulk must be not less than two sheets and a half. Means have already been taken: I mean indirect and unlawful means have been taken and put in force by petty villains all over the country, to retard the arrival of the Register; and so much terror has been inspired among venders, that they no longer dare sell but in very few instances. Gentlemen have written to me from various parts of the country, to say that the Register now costs them as much, or more, than it did when it was sold at a shilling, and went by the post. I receive, for my share, less than a halfpenny for every Register, and, they are sold in the neighbourhood of my own house in Hampshire, for *fourpence each*. Few, besides persons of considerable property, can now get at them at all; and therefore, I shall resume, on the 6th of January, (just eighteen years from the commencement of the Register) the *Stamped Register at a Shilling*; when it will be to be had, as it used to be, by application to the news-men in London; and it appears to me that it would be a great deal better for six of you to subscribe and to be regularly supplied by post than to go on as you now go on with it, sometimes getting it and sometimes not. I will find some means of still supplying you with cheap little things to be kept in your families. But this must be a matter for time and for thought. Be assured that they shall not beat us! The Daily Paper shall never prevent the publication of the Register! Nothing but a Censorship, or the end of my life, which you need not fear, shall put out this light.

As to the daily paper, my principal object is to have it in my power instantly, day by day, to detect and ex-

pose the falsehoods, and the foolish and wicked schemes that are daily put forth by the hirelings of corruption. This hireling press, which, as to ignorance, as well as servility, surpasses any thing of the kind ever before heard of, stands in need of daily correction. A week's falsehoods and follies overwhelms one. The present times teem with measures and events; as in a play, incidents crowd upon us at the close. The plot thickens. The porridge grows thick apace, now that the pot is coming to a boil. It has been a long time over the fire, simmering and smoking; but it is now beginning to bubble up and we must be quick in our motions, keep a sharp look out; or the whole mess will be into the fire. What a mess it is, you, my sensible Countrywomen, will easily guess from the following paragraph, taken from the Courier newspaper of the 24th instant. You should know, by the bye, that this COURIER is the property of one DANIEL STEWART, who is a *brother-in-law* of that very identical Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, who pronounced, the other night, so surprisingly fine an eulogium on the "*gentlemen*" of the daily press! And who praised, by name, that exquisite old hack, JAMES PERRY, of the Morning Chronicle, who, he asserted, had never attacked private character, though you know very well that he has been basely attacking mine for many years past, and particularly during my absence in America. This PERRY had a *place of twelve hundred pounds a-year* when his party came into power, in 1806; and he lost it when his party were turned out. If Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH had praised the *wine* and *turtle soup* of this pompous coxcomb, the praise would, I hear, have been merited; but, of all the writers in England, this man has been the most frequently guilty of prying into the domestick movements of the Prince, into whose very kitchen he has poked his nose, and enumerated the expences of pots, kettles and saucepans. What! does Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH remember

the poem of "*the proud pea-hen*;" and still eulogise this man, for abstaining from meddling with *private character*! Give me a file of his papers for the last ten years, and I will be bound to select a volume of the most base and malignant assaults upon private character. PERRY has not failed to boast of these praises bestowed upon him in the House of Commons; and of which praise no man on earth will grudge him the exclusive possession. Brother DANIEL STEWART only came in amongst the general mass of the "*gentlemen*" of the daily press; but brother DANIEL had another brother, who once published a newspaper called the ORACLE. That was brother PETER STEWART, who, having had, like Mr. MANNERS, a due seasoning in "*the respectable part of the press*," was afterwards, like Mr. MANNERS, made a CONSUL, to represent his Majesty abroad, and to do honour to the British Nation. Brother PETER was Consul at Havre-de-Grace: whether he be such still, I cannot say. Brother DANIEL was first a *tailor*, next he was secretary to a Society for *Parliamentary Reform*; afterwards he became a newspaper publisher, and published, in his paper, a particular paper, purporting to have come from France, called the ECLAIR, the particulars of which are to be found in the records of the Court of King's Bench; which particulars, I will, one of these days, publish, and, when these particulars are before the public, they will be enabled to judge, pretty fairly, of the character of brother DANIEL; if, indeed, what he has said about the Manchester Magistrates, if his millions of atrocious falsehoods about me, could leave any doubt as to what sort of a man this is.

But, without saying any thing more of him, at present, let us come to the schemes that brother DANIEL is now putting forth, and one of which is described in the following paragraph:

"A very considerable sensation has been produced by the appearance of Mr. HEATHFIELD'S pamphlet, proposing to pay off one half of the

National Debt by an assessment of fifteen per cent. on the capital of all property, a measure which would permit the repeal of twenty millions of taxes. The pamphlet has been freely circulated, at the author's expence, among Members of Parliament and other public persons; and hence it has been supposed to be a scheme of the Government.— We believe, however, Ministers have nothing to do with the project. Yet, every one feels that the proposed measure is so wise, so necessary, and would be so effectual, that the consideration of it excites the most lively interest. It would relieve the poor by lightening the load of taxation; it would deprive seditious demagogues of power; and it would restore general tranquillity, by depriving vice and idleness of pretences, while it would enable virtuous industry to obtain an ample and consolatory reward."

Oh, brave! I always told you that projects would thicken upon us as the end approached. Here is a pretty scheme! And brother Daniel, "a second DANIEL," indeed, says that it is "so wise," "so necessary," "and would be so effectual." Brother DANIEL is certainly right, as to the effect, for, in less than one month after this scheme shall be enacted, we shall have a *Parliamentary Reform*! You will perceive, that it contemplates the taking away of a sixth part of every man's property; and you will also perceive that it inevitably must convey, at once, a sixth part of the estates of the aristocracy to the fundholders. Oh! the delightful events that would follow! A sixth part of the real property of the Church would be conveyed away from the Church, for ever. A sixth part of the tythes would be taken away. A sixth part of every man's stock in trade, or in agriculture; and all this, you will observe, without any new purchases being provided. An estate would be valued according to its rental; but the moment the sale came to take place, the estate would fall one half in value;

so that, it would require a *third part*, instead of a sixth part to be taken away in the shape of tax. And yet, you will observe, that this same scheme has been seriously proposed in the Parliament, and by a person, too, who appears to be looked up to, as a captain-general in political economy!

You know, my sensible countrywomen, how many hundred times I have told you that the taxes, the taxes, the taxes, the everlasting taxes, were the real cause of our sufferings. This fact is now acknowledged by the very men that have been representing me as a deluder; and even, you see, brother DANIEL now says, that this "*scheme would relieve the poor by lightening the load of taxation*," a doctrine which brother DANIEL and his masters have always, heretofore, stoutly reprobated. Who, then, entertains "*wild and visionary*" schemes? Is it we, or is it our opponents? But observe, brother DANIEL says, that the taking off of twenty millions of taxes would "*restore general tranquillity*." What, then, it is not seditious designs in the people; it is the taxes, after all, that cause the discontent. This is what brother DANIEL and his masters now say, and this is what I have always been telling you, though I am said to be a deluder, and you are represented as miserably deluded by me. Why not restore tranquillity, then, in this way! Why resort to new laws against the press? Why banish respectable and pious gentlemen who never sell blasphemy except in the bulk? Why not take off the taxes and thus restore general tranquillity, at once?

But, I should be a deluder, indeed, if I were to affect to believe, that taxes taken off in *this way*, would produce general tranquillity. This is *not a taking off of taxes*. This is a seizure of one man's property and giving it to another man. It would be giving a third part of the houses, lands, mines, and canals to the fundholders, without taking any thing at all from them;

for, you will observe, the five-sixth parts which they would have left of their property, would be worth as much or more than the whole is worth now. Wheat would very soon fall to three shillings a bushel, and employment would be much more than four times scarcer than it is at present.

Far, however, be it from me to say that such a scheme will not be adopted. It is notorious that people are removing their property out of the country as fast as they can. This is now stated openly in Parliament. It is stated that noblemen connected with the Ministry are doing this. Was I a *deluder*, then, when, for years, I told you that this would be the case? Was I a deluder when I said that this system must be changed or that the wealth and power of this nation would pass away? All that brother DANIEL and his abettors tell us about the *flourishing state* of the Revenue, is falsehood. It is false, upon the face of it; and of this you will see the clear proof long before the first of May. Brother DANIEL, and his associates, are become uncommonly virulent against me; me, who, for a long time, they avoided naming, as they would avoid the mention of a halter in one of their houses. I have now stung them to the quick; and their rage is the best possible proof of their conscienciousness of their own weakness, and of the increase of my power.

To adopt really efficient measures for the restoration of this country to happiness, and for the preservation of the constitution, there requires measures very different, indeed, from those now on foot. There requires very *strong* measures, I allow; but not measures which *soldiers* are required to put in execution. There requires, in the first place, a *constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*. A House of Commons, chosen in the manner that we propose, could preserve all that is good, restore every thing that is valuable, reunite the opulent man with the labourer, make the country really the admiration of the world, and

dreaded, only, by a restless and unprincipled enemy. And, to me, the strangest of all strange things is, that the *nobility* should oppose such a Reform! I can see reasons enough for its being opposed by upstarts of every description. By stock-jobbers, by loan jobbers, by discounters, by bankers, and by all the endless tribe that fatten upon war and taxation; but that it should be opposed by *noblemen*; by gentlemen of ancient families; by those who are now eclipsed by this upstart race; or, at best, huddled together and confounded with them, is, to me, more surprising than any other thing, that ever struck upon my mind: nor can I account for it, in any other way than this, that they never hear the truth: they are beset with men who work upon their pride and their fears; who make them believe that the great mass of the people wish to pull them down and degrade them, and who thereby lead them on, step by step, until they may, at last, really make that a truth, which has hitherto been a most atrocious falshood. These Noblemen and Gentlemen surely never can read. I have often been asked, in America, "Do they ever *read* what you write?" My answer has been: "No, to be sure, they do not. They never read what I write; and they never hear truth from any human being. They think the people as ignorant as they were thirty years ago, and they look upon me as an impudent deceiver who has no other object in view than that of causing my countrymen to kill one another." This has always been my answer; and this is actually the case up to this very moment. The scheme which I have mentioned above as put forth by brother DANIEL, has passed through all the newspapers, and has received not one single word in the way of exposure; though it manifestly tends to the utter ruin of the Noblemen and Gentlemen and to the putting in their stead, an upstart race, wholly unknown in this nation forty years ago. This race has the press

at its command. It will take care to keep it in that state; and, if this project, or any project of the same tendency, should be put into execution, the Noblemen and Gentlemen will have themselves to thank for it, and nobody else. For my part, I have always been for the ancient establishments of the country. Our fathers were free and happy under them. The kingdom was always powerful and famous, under those establishments; and, under them existed the very best community ever known in the world. I am for those establishments, still; I am for no new, wild, visionary schemes; and, therefore it is, that I wish for a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament; and, therefore it is, also, that I wish to be myself, in that House, because, there I am very sure that I could do ten thousand times as much as I now can, in preventing the adoption of those measures, which I am afraid will, before long, be brought forward, and which, if adopted, will, I am certain, be productive of calamities compared with which, those which we now endure, are hardly worthy of our attention.

It is truly shocking to hear the projects that are now on float, and to think of the notion of restoring the nation to tranquillity by the means of the little bars, nets, and traps invented for the press; at the same moment that those who are asking for these are coming to the Parliament with statements and projects which seem to say that all fixed notions with regard to property have taken their flight from the mind. Only think for one moment of a scheme which is, in effect, to transfer the Noblemen's estates to the jobbers of Change Alley; only think of a scheme like this being applauded, as *wise and necessary, because it would deprive seditious demagogues of power!* We have been accused of having designs of confiscation, plunder, and God knows what. We have been accused of *levelling* principles. We have been accused of a desire to pull down the higher orders.

But here is DANIEL and his abettors, coming forward with a direct proposition, not only to level; they do not stop there; but actually to strip the Noblemen and Gentlemen of their estates. The Noblemen and Gentlemen will find, and they will very soon find, too, that it is *we*, who are the only rock of safety against the projects of the speculating spoilers. I beseech them, for their own sakes, as well as for ours; *to be reconciled to us as speedily as possible.* With the great mass of the people at their back, which they would instantly have; with all their returning affections, *if we were gratified upon the subject of Reform*; with the great mass of the people at their back, they could safely set those at defiance who are now hatching schemes for laying hands on their estates. But, if they have not the people with them, they will soon see to what lengths the schemes are capable of going. Every one says that something must be done. The Ministers fairly tell the nation *that they do not know what they shall do.* Good God! how soon I would put them to the test, if I were but standing upon the same floor with themselves! I would not suffer a month to pass before they should have from me, a distinct proposition, in which, I am very sure, that every independent Nobleman and Gentleman in the country would concur. But I really do fear, that, as I said in my leave taking Address, when I went to America, that nothing efficient will be done; that the thing will drawl on, by the means of shifts and expedients, 'till, at last, amidst the war of projects and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks.

Thus, my beloved and admired Countrywomen, have I addressed you for the last time, through the channel of the "*twopenny trash*." This little book, now consisting of about one hundred and forty numbers, has produced an effect most gratifying to me, and most honourable to your minds. In it, will be read,

by your children's children, the history of the three last eventful years. It will be preserved with care, and read with deep interest, long and long after its base and detestable revilers shall have been food for the worms. In it will be found a true account of the causes of this kingdom's calamities; and I am very much afraid, true forebodings as to its fate. The reward of the author has been, the applause of all those who really love their country; but, he has received ample reward from your hands, alone; and, I can truly assure you, that every member of my own family feels as much pride as I myself do, at the great honour you have done me. Every one of them is ready to make any sacrifice; to encounter any degree of trial or of poverty, rather than I should slacken in my efforts to prove myself worthy of your esteem and affection.

I am, my beloved and
Admired Countrywomen,
Your devoted friend and servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I had closed my letter before I saw the following paragraph in the Courier newspaper, which is the property, you will remember, of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH's brother-in-law, DANIEL STUART, who was originally a tailor from Scotland, who then became secretary to a Reforming Society, who next published the most Jacobinical Journal in London, and who has, at last, become the praiser of the Bourbons, of Castlereagh and Company, and of the Manchester Magistrates.

"The following is an extract from
"a letter to a merchant in this town,
"written by his correspondent in
"America. It is dated Boston, Nov.
"7, 1819:—'Mr. Cobbett has left a
"very bad name behind him here:
"he has had his house burned once
"or twice, and been robbed several
"times by the poor people whom his
"villainous publications have indu-
"ced to come here. They came here
"expecting, from what he had said,
"to live for nothing. Alas, what

“*disappointments!* They come out
 “without any money, and, when
 “here, very few can get any work,
 “and if they do, they get very tri-
 “fling more wages than in England,
 “and they cannot live for less than
 “double.”

This, you will perceive, comes from that respectable part of the press of which we have heard so much! You know how false this is, from beginning to end. This is no extract of a letter from Boston, or from any where else; it is a thing hatched by the base and respectable brother DANIEL himself. You know that I have never invited any body to go to America. And you know that I have always said that unless they are *resolved to work*, they have *no business there*. It is very true that my house was burned once or twice; that is to say, it was burned once; and that, by mere accident; and this lying brother DANIEL, respectable brother DANIEL, knew very well; but it is right that I should tell you, that if the house had been my own, it would have been *built up again for me, for nothing!* Let that be an answer to brother DANIEL, and let it stand as a proof of the goodness of heart of the American people; and of the ease and happiness and plenty that they enjoy, in consequence of the absence of grinding taxation.—I was never robbed in America by any body; except, if I were to call it robbery, to have waggon loads of fruit taken away including, this last year, the greater part of the produce of an acre of melons, without my leave, but, at the same time, without my complaining, the fruit and melons being of no use to me, and such taking away being the custom of the country. As to the persons who were employed by me (for we call nobody *servants* there!) they are the same identical persons that I employed upon my first arrival there, and whose names you have frequently seen in the Register. One of them has sent home, by me, *ten dollars* to be given to her mother-in-law who lives near Botley; a proof that America affords the means of saving money, and

that it does not deprive English people of the recollection of what is due to their parents. The person to whom I have brought this money is the wife of DANIEL CHURCHER (a great deal better man than brother Daniel) who lives in the parish of Wickham, about three miles from this village. You will forgive me, and so will the public I am sure, for entering into these details. It is very seldom, as you may have observed, that my enemies tell a lie of me without drawing forth something to prove, not only that the thing is a lie, not only that the bad ought not to be imputed to me, but that good ought to be imputed to me, instead of bad. I have never seen an honest and industrious man or woman who was not benefited greatly by going to America; and, as to those, who lived with me while I was there, they still live with my son, and live with him I dare say they will, for a long while to come. You will observe that there is a monstrous effort now making to cause the people in this country to believe that the people in America are in distress. The object of this is clear enough; but the fact is wholly false. And as to brother DANIEL's saying that living is double the price in America that it is here; just the reverse is the fact. A common artisan's wife wears, in that country, a better dress than the best tradesmen's wives wear in England. Even the girls who hire out, as they call it, wear *china crapes* even at their work; and well they may, when they can buy a china crape dress with one month's wages. The tables of journeymen and labourers are better furnished than those of the greatest and richest of tradesmen in England. The cause is that the tax-gatherer does not come to take away their earnings. How should their situation be other than what it is, when their wages are full twice as great as in England, and when bread and meat is at less than half the English price, when claret wine is at seven pence, English money, a bottle; when port wine is at about fourteen pence a bottle, and when the common spirits of the country is at about twenty English pence a gallon? I never can too often tell you that the very salt for which you pay about twenty shillings a bushel in Lancashire, is carried to America from Lancashire, and, after paying freight, insurance and the duty in America, is sold at two and six pence, English money, a bushel. Disregard, therefore, the lies of brother DANIEL, notwithstanding all the praises of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, his brother-in-law, upon the gentlemen of that respectable thing, called the daily press!

MR. JOHNSON'S LETTER.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am requested by the Manchester Female Union Society to forward to you the inclosed inkstand and address. They wish you to accept it as a small token of their approbation and gratitude, for your

great services, rendered to our once happy, but now miserable, England.

The Female Union Society of Ashton-under-Lyne, wish me likewise to forward to you their address of congratulation, on your arrival once more in your native country, which address I herewith inclose. I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,
JOHN JOHNSON.

MR. WADSWORTH'S LETTER.

Leeds, 7 Dec. 1819.

DEAR SIR—May it please you, in behalf of the Reformers of Leeds, to accept the accompanying address as a proof of our sincere attachment to you, and of our admiration of your matchless skill, wisdom, industry, integrity, and perseverance in the cause of Reform; also, as a token and pledge of our devotion to our country's weal.

May we be permitted to say, that it is our fixed determination not to relax one single effort in the good cause, until we see corruption not only in her dying agonies, but freedom, and consequently happiness, reign in our beloved country. Wishing you and your family health and prosperity, in behalf of the Leeds Reformers, I remain yours sincerely,
JAMES WADSWORTH.

ANSWER.

Batley, December 26, 1819.

GENTLEMEN,

Accept my best thanks for the kind manner in which you have communicated to me marks of approbation and esteem which will ever remain deeply engraven upon my heart. It is only in times like the present that men really come at a knowledge of each other's worth. Such times have, indeed, their troubles and anxieties; but they have also their pleasures; they put in motion feelings which would remain dormant under the ordinary circumstances of life; and they draw forth, within a short period, more to do honour to man than an age of ordinary life would draw forth. I feel the full force of these truths at present; and you may be assured, that, so far from repining at my lot, I congratulate myself on having lived, and of living, in these times. I experience as much as any man, the inconveniences of them; but I have an ample compensation, and, indeed, a compensation far beyond what any single man can merit in the unbought, and really, unexpected marks of honour which I have recently received.

Let us, Gentlemen, never despair. Let us stand firm to our principles. We have nothing to concede; because we have never demanded any thing beyond that which the law and Constitution of our forefathers give us. I will never acknowledge that the people of England have their right, till, taxation and representation are inseparable; till we have what we have always meant by the

words *Universal Suffrage*. But, at the same time, I am for rejecting nothing that is tendered; I am for receiving any thing, as I would receive a shilling, or a penny, in part payment of a guinea. I am no system-monger, and I wish to lead nobody into a love of abstract propositions. Give me the thing we want and I care not a straw about the names that it bears. One thing, as to the nature, or rather, manner, of the Reform, I beg leave to mention; and that is, that I never have approved of any plan for cutting up the country into new divisions. It has very suitable divisions now; and all that we want, is a real representation of the people, of the whole of the people, in the Commons' House of Parliament. I will quarrel with nobody about districts and ballot boxes, or any thing of the sort. I will never refuse the substance for the sake of securing the shadow.

The interest, the immediate and pressing interest, of the nobility and the lauded gentlemen, so imperiously calls upon them to take part with us, without delay, that I can hardly bring myself to believe that they will long continue to take part against us. They have been asleep: but, one would think, the schemes now on float, cannot fail to awaken them. They must surely now see what the projects of the stock jobbers and loan jobbers tend towards; if they do not, they will open their eyes when it will be too late.

For our parts, as far as our interests are concerned, a Reform of the House of Commons is all that we want; and, if a great division should take place, as I am sure it must, between the land and the scrip, I am for joining with those, let them be who they may, who are for Parliamentary Reform; that measure being, in my opinion, absolutely necessary to restore the People to happiness, to preserve the throne in security, and to perpetuate the fame and power of the Kingdom.

With sentiments of the most sincere regard, and most profound gratitude,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your friend and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—I find the old way of robbing me has been resorted to, by post letters. I have been robbed in this way, since my return, of twelve or fifteen pounds. I must therefore beg that all letters to me may be post-paid, and, for the present sent to Mr. Dolby's. I hope every body will see the propriety of this. I cannot take one without taking all, by which I should be paying no inconsiderable tax. The orders to the Publisher must likewise be paid. We get into endless confusion without some regulation of this sort. Indeed, it is absolutely necessary to self-preservation. Of course, orders for the PAPER, must contain the usual reference in Town for payment, which is required by news-men.